

Christian Order

Summary of Contents for June, 1965

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Paul Crane, S.J.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CRISIS

J. M. Jackson

BURMA ROAD

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EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

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Dialogue and Strength

THE EDITOR

THE secularists in our midst have made little effort to conceal the joy they feel at what they think of as the present discomfiture in this country of the Catholic Church. The reason is not far to seek. They rejoice at our trouble because they think it carries the first crack in an edifice of truth, which has always stood as a rebuke to the sophisticated relativity of what passes for thought in their minds. Most Englishmen are content to play with religious truth. Few can be bothered to inquire into its objectivity. Progressives, in particular, keep clear of its claims. Admission of these would carry a repudiation of their chosen path, which is that of self-sufficiency: it would mean, in fact, the end of themselves as they are. They know this very well and hate the Church accordingly. The clarity of its truth has always pressed them too hard.

The present attempt of Catholics to take stock of their difficulties is interpreted by progressives as an endeavour on the part of the Church to suit its truth to their desires, to turn it into the kind of man-made thing they would have it to be. They have not, in fact, the least knowledge of what the *aggiornamento* is all about. As is nearly always the case, magnanimity has been interpreted by the small-minded as weakness. We know it to be a sign of strength.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The siege mentality created in us by the Protestant Reformation is slowly but surely giving place to a new outlook. With the aid of the Holy Spirit the Church is changing from an attitude of self-defence, and is trying "with great confidence and great effort to define herself better".

The Catholic Reformation

VINCENT ROCHFORD

WE who are on the wrong side of forty grew up all the more convinced of the Holy Spirit's presence in the Church by the mere fact that she survived the Protestant Reformation. And of course we were right. Naturally we lamented her losses—half of Christendom, millions of Christians, and all her political influence. Even in the countries that remained Catholic, governments tried to put her in thrall and make her an instrument of their policies. Thus she lost her power to influence even those societies. On the other hand new lands were discovered and opened to missionary enterprise: India, America. So on the whole the balance-sheet was not too bad in terms of head-counting. Meanwhile Protestantism was declining, its churches ever emptier, many of them closed down and sold. This, surely, was a decline that could only favour our efforts for conversions. Numbers were not very impressive, it is true, but more and larger advertisements must help us here. Then a reformer shattered our cosy picture. Did he really intend it all, or was he a catalyst that precipitated suspicions and currents of thought? Did he "Prophecy", as a supreme pontiff of the first Israel had prophesied in their sanhedrin? Shall we ever know?

Pope John provokes Questions

Pope John stimulated some heart-searching on other aspects of the Reformation. He picked the bubble of our smugness. We began to ask ourselves what sort of image the Church offered to the world? It began to dawn on us that the Church existed for the world, not the other way about. Then we progressed to asking whether the Church had grown impoverished, whether every custom was genuinely a tradition to be valued and developed?

We came to realise that though the Church had indeed survived the Lutheran crisis, like many another victim of an accident, she had survived maimed, not her true self. For she had been forced onto the defensive, and successive crises—the century of rationalism, then liberalism—had kept her there. She had, as it were, to retreat inside her fortress, pull up the drawbridge and lower the portcullis that permitted communication with the outside world, and live out a long siege. At intervals condemnations would be hurled from the battlements at all and sundry. Dubious alliances between throne and altar were to bring salvation. Generations grew up inside this besieged Church, taking her defensive situation for her normal condition. Like any other beleaguered garrison, we all accepted stern discipline. Strong, centralised authority was necessary, which worked in practice through a vast bureaucracy of conscientious civil servants who decided all questions by precedent: the Roman curia. As executors of her decisions, bishops needed above all the qualities of safeness and docility. This practical necessity was to develop into a principle; and it introduced an element of timidity into the life of the Church, timidity among bishops, priests, theologians.

Uniformity

Another temporary phase in the Church's self-defence was a cast-iron uniformity which her people encountered chiefly in the sphere of their worship. In the turmoil of the Reform, the layman's only way of judging the orthodoxy of a priest was to standardise the manner of celebrating Mass. This had been quite uncalled for in previous ages,

and in fact Mass was celebrated in many different ways throughout Europe. But the temporary necessity once again became a principle and an ideal. We grew up accepting without question that Mass must always and everywhere follow a standard pattern down to the smallest detail. Thus it came about that all the European actions and symbols that the Church employed were exported all over the world. The Japanese Catholic must attend Easter Mass at which the celebrant wore white, which signifies joy in the West, but mourning in the East. Elsewhere any kiss is considered obscene; but because in Roman times you kissed your host's table upon entering his house as a mark of respect, we still confuse certain Oriental Catholics. Meanwhile the dozen or so Uniate Rites enjoyed a kind of second-rate citizenship in God's family.

Protestantism damaged our teaching, for naturally we played down the ideas which it had detached from their setting, and these receded into the dim background of our thought: ideas like the mystical body, the priesthood of the laity. On the other hand we had to emphasise the truths Protestantism had jettisoned for instance, the organisation-side of the Church, or the sacrificial nature of the Mass. It is true to say that our theological thinking took place with one eye on the ghost of Martin Luther, it was apologetic in intention rather than an honest resolve to understand the Word of God. Scripture, Aquinas' system of thought, everything was made to serve an anti-Lutheran purpose. The "penny catechism", originally intended as a book of reference, heavily tinged with anti-Lutheranism, became the standard method of teaching the Catholic Faith!

Distortions

When a family is unpopular in the street, every member rallies round to defend their mother and their family's way of life. This is quite natural, and to their credit. We Catholics did the same. We all rallied round and ganged up on historical difficulties, prepared almost to defend the indefensible. All in a good cause . . . If a footballer won an international cap, if a Hollywood actor became a star,

it gave us a thrill. He came near canonisation — and how often he later showed that he was subject to human weaknesses!

The seminary system founded by the Council of Trent tackled an unsavoury situation with outstanding success. The seminaries took young lads of good will, and provided the Church with clergy of high moral and religious standards and have done so ever since. But this was accomplished by giving them a code of rules. Every aspect of their life was neatly wrapped up in a thousand regulations: observing them, they would be "good priests." So they were; but it developed in them a juridical caste of mind which of course was transmitted to their people. The word "love" does not occur very frequently in discussions among Catholics: particularly, love of the neighbour.

Reform and Restoration

In January 1963 Cardinal Montini, now Pope Paul, told some newly-ordained priests: "In the Council, the Church is trying to find herself. She is trying, with great confidence and great effort, to define herself better, and to understand what she is." This has created confusion and annoyance. It has challenged ideas we grew up with. The reactionary in all of us needs to be quelled whilst we consider whether or not the Church's newly-recovered image of an open Church, a servant-Church, ambitious only to serve humanity as her Master did, is not worth the sacrifice of deeply-held misunderstandings? But we can hear the sound of feet being dragged in many quarters, even though a new vision of Christ's bride has been offered to us, filled with love for all Christians of other communions, and indeed for all men, seeking what she has in common with them, anxious only to help and to bring them to her Spouse.

CURRENT COMMENT

"Observer" continues his examination of Chinese Communist methods in Africa with particular reference to the Congo. He concludes on a note of cautious hope.

China in Africa : 2

OBSERVER

THE *Mauritius Times* wrote on October 23rd, 1964: "Everybody knows that Mao Tse-tung has adopted the way of revolution, aggression and war as his means to the realisation of China's ideals. China has attacked India without reason. Her interference in the affairs of Burma, Vietnam, Malaysia and the newly independent African countries is clear for all to see. Now that China has become a nuclear power, her effrontery and aggressiveness will make themselves felt still more. Her leaders believe the world is rotten, that they alone can save it, and this by bloody wars. With leaders who have this kind of warlike mentality, China, as a nuclear power, constitutes indeed a grave threat to world peace."

Jeune Afrique of Tunis wrote on November 8th, 1964: Chinese diplomats have established a whole network of bases, agents and 'contact men' along the arc of a circle which stretches from Dar-es-Salaam to Brazzaville; northwards as far as Kenya and Somaliland; Southwards to Zambia, South Africa and Basutoland. The nerve centre of this network is the Chinese Embassy at Dar-es-Salaam. The key personality is Kao Liang, the determined and ubiquitous agent of the New China Agency. It is he who, on behalf of the Ambassador, makes all the necessary soundings and serves as intermediary between diplomats and their African contacts . . . In the Chinese Embassy at Dar-es-Salaam, there are between 30 and 40 Chinese (twice the number of all the other diplomats put together); in Kenya there are at least 20 and in Uganda 12, whilst little

Burundi has 20 Chinese* (1) in comparison with only 4 Russians."

Mouinda of Brazzaville wrote on October 30th, 1964: "Let us be on our guard. Let us not allow quarrels to be foisted on Africa which she could well do without. We must realise that, in order to secure the triumph of Chinese Communism, the Chinese are determined to support and even create any kind of rebellion which attempts the overthrow of a non-Communist regime."

On October 3rd, 1964, the same paper wrote: "A sad series of events bears witness to the fact that the Brazzaville Congo, in ceasing to be French, has not become independent, but Chinese; and this as a result of revolution. This is why revolutionaries who do not wish the Congo to become the possession of another power are automatically classed as 'counter-revolutionaries'."

These excerpts from a reasonable cross-section of the African press show, as well as anything we know, the evolving mind of emergent Africa with regard to the Chinese penetration of the Continent.

Red China and Revolution

The Nigerian *Daily Telegraph* reminded its readers on October 24th, 1964 that the President of Red China, Liou Sha-chi, told the President of Brazzaville Congo, Alphonse Massemba-Debat, at a banquet in Peking on October 1st that China considered it a "sacred international duty" to support revolutionary struggles like that of the Congolese rebels. Recalling the phrase of Mao Tse-tung, "a mere spark can set off a prairie fire", the *Daily Telegraph* stated that already in April, 1961 a secret news sheet (*Progress Report*, of which we shall say something later) had been seized. It was intended for high-ranking Chinese officials and expressed the view of Peking "that a rebellion in one or two African countries could become contagious". In fact, Chinese efforts to help the Congolese rebels extend their revolt to other African countries have been fully confirmed by the former cultural attaché to the Chinese

(1) Since expelled; see previous article.

Embassy at Burundi, Tung Chi-ping, who — as has already been said in a previous article — defected and obtained political asylum in the United States. Speaking of the part played by the Chinese in the Congo revolt, Tung Chi-ping cites Mao Tse-tung as saying, "If we succeed in seizing the Congo, we shall hold the whole of Africa".

This declaration of the Chinese Leader, made at the beginning of 1964, reveals the true nature of Chinese activity in Africa. Its aim is to support revolutionary movements wherever they are to be found on that Continent, to upset and embarrass governments too closely aligned with the West and, finally, to exacerbate local difficulties wherever they exist. These three objectives might be described accurately as constituting the present aim of Chinese Communist activity in Africa* (2).

Three years ago, the objectives to which we have just made reference were published in the *Progress Report*, for April 25th, 1961 of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Army of Liberation. This was cited in the *China News Analysis* (Hong Kong) for January 24th, 1964. According to this document, the actual stages of development in the different regions of Africa would correspond to what China went through during the time that elapsed between the Boxer Rising (a movement full of xenophobia and anti-Christian feeling) and the fall of the Manchu Dynasty (1911) and students' revolt (May 4th, 1919). The *Progress Report* goes on to add, "no region of Africa has yet reached the stage of the Northern Campaign (the nationalist movement in China led by Chang Kai-shek from 1926 onwards) nor the stage of resistance to the Japanese (the United Front formed by Communists and Nationalists in China after 1936) and these areas are all far from having reached the stage of complete Com-

(2) Generally speaking, the classical strategy of Communism with regard to independent African countries that still enjoy a fair measure of freedom is to do everything possible to hold up their healthy development, to create in their midst a vacuum out of which chaos can be drawn and, from this, to forge discontent. Meanwhile, a very carefully directed line of propaganda is put out to the effect that the discontented have to thank for their plight only their governments and the imperialist governments whose "lackeys" they are. Out of this situation only a Communist regime can draw the salvation of the discontented and a promise of peace and prosperity

munist control (as was the case in China in 1949) ". Finally, this document goes on to say, "In Africa, one finds many right-wing, but few left-wing elements in power. The Chinese Revolution can only be explained if one begins with Taiping, goes on to the Boxers and Sun Yat-sen and finishes with the present Communist Revolution. The Africans must act for themselves and foreign aid take only second place . . . If, however, one or more of the independent countries of Africa were to stage a truly nationalist revolution, its influence would be sufficiently strong (for our purposes) and a revolutionary wave would submerge the African continent ".

Zanzibar and the Congo

Three years after the original publication of this confidential document on April 25th, 1961, a nationalist revolution overthrew the Sultan of newly independent Zanzibar, and the Chinese were able to note with satisfaction that one of their agents, Mohammed Babu, played a part of key importance in that coup. In the eastern provinces of the (old Belgian) Congo, guerillas led by Congolese trained by the Chinese in Peking, such as Pierre Mulele and Gaston Soumialot, have led (and are leading) a revolt in which the most is made of ethnic and tribal rivalries with a view to the destruction of the Central Government of the Congo whose power is based on Leopoldville. In the Brazzaville Congo, Somaliland, Burundi (until very recently) and other countries Chinese diplomats have been playing the role of "technical advisers" to rebels and troublemakers wherever they are to be found. It would, of course, be foolishness to believe that the Chinese presence in Africa is the *only* cause of any particular insurrection or violent demonstration on that Continent. At the same time, it would be the greatest possible mistake to underestimate the significance of the Chinese-type revolution, which Peking's leaders hope to see spreading throughout Africa and, more particularly, in the countries of its East and Centre.

The Congo Pattern

In this context, a report made by Max Clos and pub-

lished in *Figaro* for December 10th, 11th and 12th, 1964 makes interesting and grim reading:

"Throughout those areas of the Congo affected by the rebellion it has been observed that the tactics of the rebels, their methods and the orders they give to their followers are the same. With regard to this aspect of the revolt there can be no doubt whatsoever; its Chinese Communist origins are everywhere apparent . . . One sometimes comes across, word for word, whole sentences taken from manuals supplied to soldiers of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam . . ." "However", continues Clos, "unlike the Russians and Lumumba in 1960, the Chinese, in their dealings with the present Congo revolt, are not yet concerned with the ideological aspect of the rebellion, but only with the material side of its organisation". According to Clos (writing last December), the supplying of Chinese arms to the Congolese rebels cannot yet be considered of any great importance, but, he adds, evidence seems to show that the Chinese are working in specialised fashion in two particular fields:

"Rather surprisingly, the first concerns the major role played by fetichism in the present Congolese rebellion. Fetichism is an African speciality. Up till now, however, it has been practised secretly. Very few Europeans knew about it. It was a hidden, almost a shameful thing. Now it has come to light suddenly as part of the system of government in rebel territory. Experts put this down to Chinese Communist influence. The reason is simple. At this stage of affairs, there can be no question of 'educating' the Congolese people, in the Marxist sense of the word, but only of 'liberating' them from the grip of the Europeans. This is why priests and religious have suffered most during the course of the revolt. So far as the Chinese Communists are concerned, the most important thing at this stage is to cut all the links between Africa and the West. One good means of doing this is to encourage the practise of fetichism and secure its acceptance as part of the African way of life. It would appear that success has been achieved in this respect: people in the West have been horrified by

reports of brutalities, based on fetichism, which have taken place in Kwilu Province.

"The second specialised field in which Chinese Communists are intensifying their efforts is that represented by the setting up and empowering of people's tribunals: their task is to condemn to death and carry out public executions of those convicted. This represents a new procedure in Africa. One can hardly fail to see the similarity of this procedure to that carried out in China immediately after the Communists took power in that country. There, as in the Congo, the people had to be involved in the revolution, exposed to its full force and cut clean away from the West".

"It is certain", concludes Clos, "that the rebellion in the Eastern Congo is by no means over and that there are more tragedies to come". So far, he has been proved only too correct.

Africa Could be Next

It took the Communists nearly thirty years to achieve power in China. What has been happening during the past year in Africa proves that the process can be accelerated. Whatever their basic reasons for thinking and acting as they did, there can be no doubt, but that the reaction of many African countries to the rescue operation in the Congo at the end of last year was in accordance with the party line put down by Peking. It seems at times as if the governments of some independent African countries are facades behind which strong men, themselves tools of Peking, are acting with increasing influence. In them, it has not yet been realised that non-alignment, however much desired, cannot operate effectively in face of Communist China's determination to infiltrate Africa irrespective of the means chosen to secure this purpose. Non-alignment can only succeed when East as well as West is determined to keep the rules of the game. This can never be the case because, so far as Communism is concerned, there can be no rules of the game in the normally accepted sense of that phrase.

Blow-up in the Sudan

At one time it looked as if the situation which blew up in the Sudan last autumn would bring serious consequences to the peoples of East Africa. The Sudanese Communist Party, operating clandestinely, succeeded in rallying, exactly at the right time, all the forces opposed to what was becoming an increasingly inefficient and repressive Government. It was mainly, we think, through the efficient organising ability of the Sudanese Communist Party that the students' demonstration of October 21st in Khartoum was converted into a revolt which successfully toppled the Government of General Abboud: in this, the key operation was undoubtedly the general strike, which paralysed the country's life—particularly that of the railways—and made it impossible for the army to save the regime. There can be no doubt, but that the Communists were behind this strike: at the same time, it must be kept in mind that the Sudanese, particularly those of the South, had many legitimate grievances against the Abboud Government. The thing to notice is the skill of the Communists in working on these grievances and using them to their advantage. The National Government, which followed the revolt, contained one Communist minister and four fellow travellers out of a total of fifteen. The Sudanese Communist Party gained a great deal from the revolution.

No one can be sure how long its gains will last. At first they were considerable and put to good effect. The new Sudanese Government offered hospitality to Congolese rebels driven across the border by the Congolese army, with its stiffening of mercenaries: across the border in the Sudan they were given the opportunity of reforming their broken ranks, retraining and receiving the arms, which came to them from China and the Soviet Union, from Ghana, the United Arab Republic and Algeria. At the same time, arms from these countries were flown to Juba in the South Sudan and carried by road over the border and into the Eastern Congo for the use of rebel forces. Fortunately, however, this situation has not lasted too long. The rebels in the South Sudan—for so long in

revolt against Khartoum and savagely repressed by Abboud's army—have brought pressure to bear on the new Government at Khartoum with a view to stopping this traffic. One reason for their doing so is found, no doubt, in the fact that there are many Christians in the rebel ranks of the South Sudan. These have been savagely persecuted on account of their religion. They feel small sympathy for their Congolese counterparts who have so savagely killed priests and nuns and submitted them to every kind of indignity. They have no desire to aid such people. Their representatives have made their wishes known to a Government at Khartoum that has abandoned Abboud's policy of repression and is anxious to effect a reconciliation with the South. Under the circumstances, the views of the South on the subject of aid have had to be taken into account. Here is one main reason why the aid given so readily to the Congolese rebels immediately after the overthrow of General Abboud began to taper off after the turn of the year. An additional and very powerful reason is to be found in the rapidly growing strength in the Sudan of the conservative Umma Party, made up largely of the followers of the Mahdi and strongly opposed to any extension in their country of Communist power. Already, their leaders have taken steps to cut down the extent of Communist representation in the Sudan's caretaker government, which is meant to take charge of the country's affairs until after the general election. If, as seems likely, this is won by the Umma Party, Sudanese Communists may well find themselves reduced once more to the status of a tiny underground minority. It is for this reason, no doubt, that, at the time of writing, they are trying so desperately hard for a postponement of a general election which, they feel, will deprive them of power. Things, then, are better now in the Sudan than seemed possible in the immediate aftermath of the October revolution. One says this whilst reminding the reader that between now and the publication of this article anything can happen. For the moment, we are content to note a significant check to what seemed at first like a rapid growth of Communist power.

No Ground for Complacency

There is no ground, however, for complacency in the Sudan or anywhere else in newly independent Africa. The revolutionary prospects seen by Chou En-lai and classified by him as "excellent" early in 1964 have, on the whole, improved in most parts of the African continent. The thought is not a pleasant one. All Peking's ideological Marxism can offer Africa is the breaking of men's bodies and the destruction of their souls. The story of China itself—falsified and blurred by a continuous stream of propaganda—gives ample evidence of this. But we need not look even to China. The conduct of Congolese rebels, trained in Peking, leaves us with no reason to believe that a similar situation anywhere else on the African continent would be any different. In the eastern provinces of the Congo, there is reason to believe that the Simbas systematically murdered between 8,000 and 20,000 of their fellow Congolese, who were of any consequence at all. The trick is an old one, carried out with ruthless brutality by Communist revolutionaries as a strategic operation in other countries. The object is to leave a population without local leadership, to strip from it those round whom it might rally in opposition to Communist aggression in order that, cowed and broken, it may be taken over and beaten the more easily into subjection by its future Communist masters. The attack on the Church, the torture, death and indignities heaped on its missionaries in the Congo are part and parcel of the same idea. What Peking wants in every African country is a people delivered helpless into its hands for conversion into a race of slaves. This is the new imperialism which today threatens Africa as never before.

Those who would like to know more of the methods likely to be employed against Christianity in Africa and the Catholic Church in particular are advised to read the article entitled "At Work against the Church" published in *Christian Order* for January, 1965. This document was first published in Peking in December, 1959. It was intended for use by the Chinese Communists working in Latin America.

As a change from the daily dose of sordid news, and the fantastic and absurd commentary on that news by so many progressives, a few relevant details are here given of a Catholic family.

The Walker Family

E. L. WAY.

WHAT with train wrecking, murder, balancing the national budget, hunger and war, and the latest example of sexual 'emancipation' everyone, at one time or another, must yearn for something fresh to read. And in this article an attempt is made to present a Catholic family as it sees itself. Naturally much is disguised: names, occupations, and incidents; and much is omitted. But on balance a true likeness emerges. And within the limits dictated by space, something of the experiences of a Catholic family facing the rigours of the twentieth century is conveyed. Anyone looking for what might be termed religious sociological factors will be disappointed. Here men and women and children are presented, not statistics. And even the keenest statistician, under the influence of a dram (no sinister inference is intended) might admit that men and women are more interesting than numbers. Not, I hasten to add, that I think that statistics are not of the greatest importance. They are, and they are of interest, but there is a time and place for everything.

Composition

The Walker family consists of mother, father, and five children: four boys and a girl. The eldest is twenty-one years old, and the youngest is six. The girl is twelve. The eldest is a student and, against advice of the mildest sort, became engaged to a Methodist. He runs with supervision a Catechism class, and is taking instruction at the Grail in order to be really good at teaching the Catholic faith. He and his fiancée (pace John Grigg who in the *Guardian*

suggested as an alternative: wedmaid!) attended a weekend at the Grail during which there was a conference on the Liturgy. And some time later they were both present at a Methodist conference on the Jesus of history, and the Jesus of to-day. About forty people attended, and the average age was twenty years. His impression was that those attending were well informed, and held differing opinions on many subjects; and that Methodist ministers are able to be rather more unorthodox than are Catholic priests. But everything was conducted in a very friendly way, and a few of the people at any rate were aware that he was a Catholic. He stated the Catholic view on some questions during the course of discussion. When they returned home the father and the two young people adjourned to the privacy of the front room and had a long talk on the doctrine of hell. And when it was over Mr. Walker read an extract from a book which showed that what he had said on Hell was almost exactly—word for word—what he had found in the book . . . *All* concerned are aware that problems between the two young people exist. They are of a serious nature, and are not shirked.

Politics

Like so many Catholic families the Walkers are supporters of the Labour Party. Mrs. Walker attends the meetings of the local constituency every month, delivers leaflets and notices of future meetings, and was a teller at the last election. The Walkers feel, and sometimes say, that priests do not always appear to understand the problems which confront the ordinary family in the workaday world in which they live. Money difficulties, shift work with its ever varying hours of duty, getting the children ready for school, shepherding them across extremely dangerous roads in all weathers, all these and many more make attendances at "evening devotions" almost impossible. Mr. Walker also experiences the tension which exists between the Church's official teaching on property and what he feels at the receiving end! He knows that elementary rights have not been granted to him and his fellow-workers without a fight. He knows also that it is more a

question of human dignity than of wages. He would like to hear the stark materialism of the capitalistic world condemned more often. He knows all about the evils of Communism. But what hurts most is that so often Catholics who are conservative see the 'Left' only in terms of certain principles, and the 'Right' "as the affirmation, in a very real and concrete sense, of the order most favourable to themselves". But Mr. Walker knows that he must be unswervingly obedient to the Church, hoping and praying that it will ultimately see the problem in its entirety. The workers must be able to fulfil all the possibilities that lie within them.

The Children

The second eldest Walker boy did not win a scholarship and had to attend a secular Grammar school or forgo all hope of further education. He was when younger in the choir. And later became an Altar server. With him the second youngest of the Walkers serves Mass regularly, and on one memorable occasion was told off by one of the lay 'popes' of the Parish for not having a very clean cotta. Mrs. Walker, who has carried the enormous burden of a fairly large family, would willingly have boiled this 'pope' in the detergent that washes whiter than white. She remarked acidly that "Those who carry the least burdens are always the most critical". The daughter did not win a scholarship either, and she goes to a Convent, and sings in the choir. The youngest Walker, soon to be six years old, is taken by his mother to the nearest Catholic school. And this has meant that sometimes she has been away from her household duties for as much as three hours in one day. The youngest has not said what the eldest once thought at about the same age: that the "Our Father who art in Heaven" referred to the Parish priest, who was also called Father.

Trade Union

Mr. Walker has attended his union meetings with regularity and enthusiasm. At first he made a bit of an ass of himself as he was not familiar with the rules of procedure.

But he learned in time. And his influence is felt. The sharp criticism of new members has stopped. He reminded the union that it was not much good crying at the poor attendances if the newest members were shut up because of rules of procedure. Everyone has to learn. He hopes to be elected as a representative eventually. And has twice missed the assistant branch Secretaryship by one vote, the same Communist being elected on both occasions. When a speaker has been invited to the branch to tell the members what a wonderful country Russia is he has asked searching questions about the disciplinary procedures adopted in that country. He was answered with frankness, and somehow the magic of the Bolshevik experiment was tarnished. Recently he spoke with force against a resolution on Vietnam, and though the resolution was carried, much of the anti-American sting was taken out of it. He notes that out of a full membership of 1,800, there are on the average only 19 who attend regularly every week. And 8 or 9 of these are Communists. But of course most of the business of the branch has little to do with politics. The men are there mostly to improve their conditions and their wages. Unfortunately this appears to have little connection with Christianity. Mr. Walker somewhat peevishly enquires if the last time an English Catholic in authority spoke up for the workers was the intervention of Cardinal Manning in the Dock Strike of 18 something or other? If so he suggests that another pronouncement would not be out of place before this century ends. He prays that there may be unity in the ranks of the Church, comradeship between 'Right' and 'Left', but he doubts if this will be achieved at the expense of the workers. They are not juvenile delinquents. They have come of age. The employers have all but realised it.

The Clergy

The Walker family have the most friendly and co-operative relationship with the priests they come in contact with. It is true that he last met a bishop when he was confirmed. But that was nearly forty years ago. And the meeting was somewhat formal. He would be embarrassed

if he met one now. Should he genuflect? It is not that he grudges any mark of respect, but he does feel that he must have some special way of showing his respect to almighty God. And that is why he genuflects before the altar. If, however, he genuflects before the bishop his special way of showing his respect to God is taken from him. He would be quite prepared to show his respect in any other way . . . But the priests are great. (So of course the bishops may be.) One priest he knows is a good mimic, and an excellent raconteur. And he can work; and can inspire others also to give of their best. Another is a good, harassed, and dedicated man; and he enjoys a joke as well. How they have laughed together. In the Catholic Church the company of saints is not made up of sobersides who have put a ban on laughter.

Unworldly

Would one say that the members of the Walker family have been influenced by their religion? There would certainly have been fewer of them if they had not been Catholics. Perhaps they would have put much more value on property, money, and status if they had shared the philosophy of their neighbours. Somehow these things though important do not seem to have been of all that consequence. The psychologist, once consulted on the suitability of a job for one of the members of the family, gave it as her opinion that the rat race was definitely out. And on Mr. Walker looking disconsolate, she said "Surely that shouldn't worry you". Perhaps he was thinking ruefully that there could be too many unworldly people in one family. The fact is that money and success, and how these desirable things are achieved, have always been a mystery to Mr. Walker. He looks at some of those who have achieved these things and for the life of him can't see anything extraordinary about them. I suppose that the truth is that in spite of all their failings, sins, negligences, and muddle they do try to live a Christian life.

MONTHLY REPORT

Seafarer recently took his ship to Burma to dock at Rangoon. In the old days of British rule he knew and loved the country, which he often visited. He loves it still, but is aghast at the change. Here are his impressions.

Burma Road

SEAFARER.

HOW chock-a-block with nationalism can a small nation become? How far down the road to international isolation will such a policy lead its people? These questions should be pondered by all who have at heart the well-being of smaller nations, so many of which are trying desperately to make for themselves a place in the sun. Some months ago I visited Burma, a country I visited often before the second world war; for six years, in fact, I was in lower Burma every twelve weeks. The change I found this time was almost indescribable. So much that is conducive to happiness appeared to have vanished. I hope and pray that it has not gone beyond recall.

All out by September

Most will know that that country suffered terribly under the ruthless occupation of the Japanese army whose principle pastimes were rape, murder and pillage. After the Japanese defeat there came civil war, bandit infiltration and governments which rose and fell under the shadow of corruption. Now, Burma finds itself run by a military clique whose rule is practically totalitarian. The present government calls itself the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma. I quote this from the headline of my own identity card, which I had to carry with me everywhere under penalty of a heavy fine: to add insult to

injury I had the pleasure of paying for this document out of my own pocket.

I should explain at this stage the reason for the title of this article. A recent law had made it obligatory that all foreigners, whether from East or West, should leave Burma by September unless they had acquired Burmese nationality. This Act alone has put back the clock for Burma, for it is the hundreds—I should say thousands—of Tamil coolies who have been the backbone of Burma's unskilled labour force for years. These coolies are of Indian nationality. Their fathers and grandfathers were brought to Burma every week for years to do the unskilled jobs which the average Burman never cared to do. He dislikes hard manual work. The skilled jobs and administrative posts were held by Europeans, mostly Britishers. Whilst I met this trip a few Burmese officials and managers who were capable men, I met many who were otherwise and too many of these were openly soliciting bribes. I state this openly and in the knowledge that any shipmaster or foreign businessman will confirm its truth.

In Burma, as in all countries that go to the extreme Right or Left, it is the underdog and the member of the lower classes who suffer. Many of the Hindu and Tamil small shopkeepers, tailors and shoemakers were faced with expulsion for not bothering to take Burmese nationality. At the time I was in Burma, they faced the loss of their livelihood with nothing but an unknown future in front of them. For the same reason, a sprinkling of Europeans in their middle forties and fifties, who had worked hard and honestly for the country in their various jobs, faced the future with dread. These had expected to spend the whole of their working life in the country and to receive a reasonable pension when they retired. Then, suddenly, they were given a few weeks to get out and look for another job elsewhere.

Confiscation all Round

In Burma, all foreign businesses have been confiscated without exception. The range includes banks and big hotels. Walking around the city of Rangoon I saw all

the old well-known banks with heavy, large hoardings displaying the words "Now the Peoples' Bank" just under the bank's original name. A reader may wonder what effect this has on the economy of the country. The answer can only be in terms of disaster. Already, of course, in spite of severe penalties, a Black Market flourishes in Burmese currency: again and again, I was offered four to five times the official exchange rate for sterling. I was offered it not only in offices, but by taxi drivers and pedlars, so swiftly is Burma travelling the road to insolvency, which can bring nothing but hardship to the workers. The country's greatest natural assets are rice and teakwood. Under the British Administration, the Burmese exported on the average 3,000,000 tons of rice and 200,000 tons of teak each year. At present, under nationalisation, exports have fallen to 1,145,000 tons of rice and 60,000 tons of teakwood. Naturally enough, the cost of living is rising in the country: this year, nevertheless, wages in Burma have been reduced. Many government blueprints exist, of course, for improving things, but, as an old Burman said to me, no improvement is possible until the present government is put out of power. Doubtless, at first, the present military government did something to restore order. Its members, however, had no training in civil administration. The country is run by a military dictatorship, which will be hard to supplant.

A Lovely People

In Burma, the average man in the street is a likeable person. When I first knew the Burmese years ago they were amongst the most loveable and peaceful people I had ever met. Cruelty was unknown to them until it was introduced into their country by the Japanese during the second world war. Though they were never lovers of hard work, they plodded cheerfully along in their paddy fields from dawn to dusk: their day ended as a rule with music from homemade instruments and a kind of community singing from hut to hut. In the cities, they had their regular meeting places, more after the style of social clubs but open to all including the children. Many Bur-

mese are very good looking and the younger girls in particular are extremely attractive in their native dress, which is generally a silk or fine cotton sarong with a pretty little embroidered jacket and, very often, a flower or silk ribbon in the hair. Nowadays, of course, many Burmese girls in the cities are dressed in European style, but, so far as I am concerned, it makes them far less attractive. Like the people of most Far Eastern countries the Burmese have a very strong family life: the father is the undisputed head of the family, but mother has a strong say in some of the family's monetary affairs.

Education and the Press

Education in Burma is progressing: in fact, Burma stands high in this respect by comparison with other Asiatic countries. There is no caste system in Burma and its women, in consequence, are able to engage freely in social affairs. All over the country now the educational system is being reorganised, but, unfortunately, the present government is taking steps to socialise education. Let me quote from the new government sponsored magazine which I have before me: "Government is taking steps to bring education in line with its socialist policy." The same magazine has a statement to the effect that, last March, Russian lecturers were to be received into the country to begin teaching a course in Russian for senior students: to me that looks like the thin end of the wedge. The free press in Burma has been suppressed. In its place, the Government has issued a newspaper called *Working People's Daily*. If I may quote again, "The *Working People's Daily* owes its birth and being to the Burmese taxpayers, the bulk of whom are working people on the land, in mills, factories and in offices". And again, "We shall be ever vigilant in detecting in time any erroneous views the people might unwittingly have adopted or performed and to let the people know the remedies we shall apply to rectify the mistakes thus detected". Such a statement coming from government sources illustrates as well as anything could the totalitarian mentality of those who make it.

Cost of Living

The *Working People's Daily* is produced, we have seen, by the taxpayer's money, yet it costs 25 pyas to buy. And 25 pyas is equal to a quarter of a kyat and a kyat is equal to 1s. 6d. Consequently, the worker's newspaper costs him over 4d. a day, and a labourer's wage in Burma for a 9-hour day is 4s. 6d. Enough said. Besides the press, the Burmese Government has in its hands the greatest of propaganda assets, which is the radio. This blares out news, threats, decrees and indictments all day long and into the night. Yet, in spite of the present totalitarian atmosphere in Burma, its people keep smiling, make jokes about their new government, enjoy their numerous festivals and look forward, for the most part, to the downfall of the present regime. In spite of the Government's much vaunted improvements in living conditions, I found the streets still with their quota of beggars, including the very old and the very young. Children are still taught in Burma that begging is a worthwhile profession: it has been this way in the East since before the coming of Our Lord.

I spoke earlier on in this article about the order given for all foreigners to be out of Burma before last September. A few exceptions have been made. Amongst them are the staffs of the two best schools in Rangoon, the Catholic Convent School and the Methodist High School. Both these schools are held in the highest respect by all. The manager of a large and well known agency, told me that both were noted not only for their fine scholarship, but for the moral training which each gave to the children. I replied that I was pleased to hear we had something to our credit after the abuse that had been thrown at us since the war almost everywhere east of Suez.

Some Burmese are, of course, Christians, but the majority worship Buddha: this is made obvious to the foreigner by the many huge pagodas which are to be seen everywhere in the country. In Rangoon itself is the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda whose spire is made of solid gold. Many Buddhist priests are to be seen walking about the city of Rangoon in their saffron-coloured robes: amongst them, on this visit,

noticed quite a lot of young men. By contrast with the images of Buddha, which represent him always as fat, the majority of the priests I saw were lean and hungry looking.

Transport: Difficulties and Dangers

There is no lack of transport in Rangoon. Most notable are the hundreds of buses, which are seldom used by Europeans: the reason, presumably, is that on these buses there seems to be no limit to the number of passengers who are allowed to be packed in with their shopping, which consists of everything they have bought from the market — live chickens and ducks, unwrapped fish and sacks of vegetables, to name only a few of the items which they take with them onto the buses. Far easier is transport by taxi, motor-cycle taxi and the peddle-cycle version of the same. The two latter forms of transport are remarkably cheap, reminding one of the Paris taxis as they race along without a thought for traffic regulations, lights and signals. All they want to do is to deposit their passenger at his destination in the shortest possible time; then be off again to collect another fare. On one occasion when I had to go to the British Embassy I engaged a motor-cycle taxi. I was glad indeed when I got there! During the two-mile journey, we were on both sides of the road in turn as my driver dodged around buses, heavy lorries, cars and, for part of the journey, shunting railway engines. All the same, I found he had halved the time taken by a car for the journey. I know because I came back that way and proved it.

Jumbo at Work

Once you leave Rangoon and begin to explore its suburbs and the country round about, you step into another world. Here are uneven dirt roads jammed with bullock carts — still the cheapest form of transport — small dirty shops selling everything under the sun, open ditches full of refuse, stray dogs, children who all seem to be missing death by inches as the traffic flows past. There are large timber yards, too, where one sees trained elephants stacking logs of teakwood as easily and neatly as modern machines. (I can assure any reader that it is a most interesting experience

to watch these elephants at work. I have stood for ages quite fascinated, watching these noble old creatures at their job, never getting in one's way, working steadily and methodically. Should you be there when the whistle goes for the coolies meal hour, it is a thrill to watch old jumbo drop his log at once, wherever he might be, and amble off to the stables for his meal as well. A mahout informed me that nothing will get the elephant to pick up his log until he has had his meal and hears the whistle for the resumption of work. He has no trade union either!)

Story of a Doctor

In spite of Burma being more literate than many other countries in the East, it still has a long way to go before it can be classed as a really literate nation. Quite recently, a village chief had occasion to obtain signatures from his men. One old fellow explained that he was unable to write. The chief told him to put down a cross and handed him a pencil. The old fellow took it and drew very carefully a pair of parallel lines! Another district, not far from the city of Rangoon itself, possesses only one small hospital and dispensary to serve 150,000 people scattered through 200 villages. Skin diseases are prevalent in many districts of the countryside, but the skin hospital has only 40 beds. During the north-east monsoon the heat, dust and water shortage cause between them many eye diseases like trachoma, yet medical centres where these can be treated are few and far between. Whilst on the question of sickness and disease, I am sure readers will be interested to hear of something I learnt during my recent stay in Burma. There was in the country a doctor, who was an Indian. He was known far and wide not only for his great skill, but for his compassion for the poor. He fashioned his medical life on that of the great Saint Luke, charging his wealthy patients high prices in order to treat the poor for nothing. He was loved by people of every race and class. Unfortunately, he made one mistake, which was considered a crime by the Military Government. His mistake was to allow a friend of his to borrow a car. The borrower, unknown to the doctor, had committed a crime against the State and used the car to cross the fron-

ier. The doctor, in consequence, was accused of helping a political enemy to escape. His punishment was deportation within twenty-four hours. Despite a public outcry from the members of all races and creeds, he had to go. I saw a photograph of him boarding the plane with one small bag, all he had time to pack before going into exile. I wonder sometimes if we realise how easily our country could go the same way. Incidents similar to that just described are happening now all over the world under present totalitarian regimes. First comes the nationalisation of everything, as in Burma: the rest follows. It only needs chaos produced by the citizens of a country to bring in the kind of totalitarian dictatorship which Burma now has.

When are you Coming Back?

One thing I noticed amongst the Burmese, particularly the labourers of the working class. Like the labourers in India they were always asking me, "When are you (the British) coming back to rule?" I just had to summon up the moral courage to reply, "Never". At times, I found it most distressing to see the look of dismay on their faces when I said we were never coming back. For the long period of our rule in Burma, as in India, we certainly made mistakes, were harsh at times and, as a rule, much too aloof in our dealings with the inhabitants. Despite these failings, they knew one thing and that was that, from us, they would always get justice and fair play. So often, I was told, "You were always just". The white housewife was just with her domestic staff and her husband was the same with those in his office. In the old days, one could see, every time a mail boat docked at Rangoon, Burmese men and women waiting to welcome back the families who employed them on their return from their leave of six or nine months in England. There was never any need to communicate to their staffs the fact of their return. It was always known through the local grapevine. The Europeans would look down on the quay to see the beaming faces of their servants smiling up at them in the knowledge that they now had before them another period of safe employment.

Here the claim of the doctors for a five-and-a half day week together with a rise of £1,800 per annum is closely scrutinised and rejected by Dr. Jackson. American medical-care schemes are also glanced at. And a comparison of salaries paid to Civil Servants, graduate teachers and doctors is made.

National Health Service Crisis

J. M. JACKSON

It is now some seventeen years since the National Health Service came into being. On the whole, the concept of a free health service has been accepted in Britain, although there are still occasional critics to be encountered. If we look at the situation that prevails in America, the advantages of such a service become apparent. As a general principle, we should not agree to the state taking over the provision of social services unless it can be convincingly demonstrated that there are substantial advantages in this. If it were possible to devise a satisfactory system whereby individuals could insure themselves against the costs of illness, this would be preferable to a 'free' state service.

American Schemes

There are, however, serious difficulties. Few of the schemes available in America cover *all* the costs of medical care. It would not matter too much if some of the costs of minor illness were not covered, but in fact a substantial part of the costs of serious illness often have to be met by the patient or his family. Moreover, such cover as is available is often restricted to certain sections of the community. If a person is eligible for membership of a group scheme, the cost of insurance is not excessive. A great many employers arrange cover for their workers, for example. A

person who is not eligible for such a scheme can take out an individual insurance policy, but only at a much greater cost. This is because the administrative costs of the individual insurance are so very much greater relatively to those of group schemes. Finally, in the case of an individual insuring with a commercial company, his premiums will be related to the risk. So a young man who is already showing some signs of illness may only be able to insure against the costs of future medical care at an exorbitant premium. As a result, a high proportion of bad risks go to the non-profit-making concerns, and this raises their costs and premiums.

Hospitals

In the case of hospital services, there is another argument for a national service. A fairly large hospital is necessary if all the main specialities are to be provided in a reasonably economic manner. The provision of hospitals, therefore, is more or less a natural monopoly. On the whole, one cannot think of competing hospitals in a town, any more than one could think of competing bus companies or electricity undertakings. One could, of course, conceive of a system in which regional boards provided the hospitals, and engaged the resident staff, but allowed suitably qualified consultants to treat their patients in these hospitals. The consultants would be remunerated by fees from their patients rather than by salary as at present. (At the moment, this happens to a limited extent, and consultants are allowed to treat their private patients in 'pay-beds' in National Health Service hospitals.)

In this country, the medical profession appears to have accepted the National Health Service. Despite the opposition that was so often expressed to the service when it was introduced, there is now nothing of the hysterical criticism of socialised medicine that even very modest proposals for medical care for the aged arouse in America among doctors. On the other hand, a threat to the future of the service has blown up over the remuneration of general practitioners. By the time this article appears, the dispute will either have been settled, or the family doctors of Britain will be

on the point of handing in *en masse* their resignations from the National Health Service, to take effect in three months time. What exactly lies behind this dispute?

The "Pool"

The system whereby family doctors in Britain are remunerated is about as complex as it could have been made. Very few people outside the profession have the slightest idea of how it works: few doctors even are likely to be fully conversant with its operation. Not only is the system complex, it is also in many respects unfair. To understand this, we must see how the "pool" works. The government begins by paying into the pool £2,765 for each general practitioner who is under contract to his local Executive Committee. (If a doctor employs another as an assistant, he pays him out of his own gross income.) This is intended to provide the net income for the family doctor. In addition, the government also pays into the pool a further sum of roughly £1,400 for each doctor in respect of practice expenses. This is based on a survey of the tax returns of a large number of doctors. There can be no doubt that the sum allowed is a fair estimate of average practice expenses. There is no reason to suppose there is any bias in selecting the sample of tax returns, and even less reason to suppose that the doctors in question would have underestimated their expenses for the benefit of the tax collector. Nevertheless, the system has a serious drawback. The sum paid into the pool is destined to be divided among the doctors in capitation fees in respect of the patients on their lists. No account is taken of the practice expenses incurred by a particular doctor. If a doctor spends less than the average on practice expenses, he will have a bigger net income than another with the same sized list but who spends more on ancillary help, providing pleasant accommodation and so on.

Questionable Features

There are other questionable features of the system. The whole of the pool is not divided up in capitation fees. £2,765 is intended to be the net income of family doctors from *all official sources*. Family doctors often carry out work for local

authorities (vaccination, etc.), for the central government (examination of civil service recruits, etc.) part-time work in the hospital service, and also services for the local Executive Committee which are separately remunerated (maternity work, and dispensing in rural areas). All of the fees for such work are deducted from the pool, and it is only what is left that is then shared out in capitation fees. In other words, a doctor who undertakes additional work outside the ordinary family doctor service increases his own income, but reduces the pool from which he and his colleagues draw the remuneration for their principle duties.

The present Review Body was set up in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Doctors' and Dentists' Remuneration in 1962. Its first report in 1963 was intended to provide the basis of remuneration for the next three years. The present report, therefore, which has been rejected by the doctors was an interim re-consideration of the situation. The proposals of the Review Body, set up with the approval of the profession, in fact recommended an increase of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the pay of general practitioners. This was by no means an ungenerous award, since the original report would have taken account of the likely trends in incomes generally over the period of the settlement. What in fact was proposed was that in future the pool should only remunerate family doctors for their services to the local executive council. No longer would any deduction be made from the pool for work done for local authorities, the central government or for the hospital service. On the other hand, maternity services, which are paid for separately by the local executive council, would continue to be deducted from the pool before capitation fees were calculated. About £5 million is paid to doctors for their services to public bodies other than the local executive councils, or about £220 per G.P. The result of this proposal would have been to increase the average G.P.'s net income to roughly £3,000.

Pay Related to Expenses

The doctors have been complaining for a long time about the unfairness of the present system of remuneration. We

have seen that the doctor who skimps on the service he provides his patients is left with the biggest net income, while the doctor who tries to provide a better service and incurs greater expenses does so at the cost of reducing his own net income. The Review Body, therefore, was anxious to see that the additional pay it was suggesting for general practitioners should be related to the expenses they incurred. They suggested, in fact, the direct re-imbursement of some of the practice expenses incurred by doctors. In other words, the doctor who skimmed on the service he provided in order to avoid such expenses would get nothing out of the award. *But for all the complaints about the unfairness of the system in the past, this suggestion was howled down by the profession.* Faced with the militancy of the doctors, the Review Body was asked to "clarify" some of its recommendations. "Clarification" in the event proved nothing short of a complete reversal by the Review Body which now saw that there was no possibility of implementing its proposals, and that the proposed increase should be without strings. Having gained this much, the doctors again rejected the generous increase of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in their already adequate pay, *and made the unprecedented demand for a pay increase in the region of 60-70 per cent.*

An Increase of £1,800 a Year

The B.M.A. had denied that the claim is, as stated by the Minister of Health, for an increase in remuneration of £1,800 a year. Nevertheless, this would seem to be a reasonable estimate of what is involved in the complicated demands of the B.M.A. At present, the average doctor's list is 2,400 patients, and capitation fees at present give him a gross income of about £3,400 for such a list. It is now proposed that the capitation fee should be raised from 20s. 6d. (with an additional fee of 15s. for the 1,201st to 1,700th patient and a further weighting fee of 1s. 6d. on 500 patients — the purpose of these additional payments being to encourage moderate sized lists) to 36s. This would raise his gross income by £920 to £4,320. In addition, the doctors want help with the expense of employing ancillary staff, additional payment for themselves for work outside of normal hours.

locums for holiday periods, and so on. In the end, therefore, it is possible that the total demands will amount to something very close to the £1,800 mentioned by the Minister, or about two-thirds of the doctors' present net remuneration.

A claim of this magnitude at a time when the government is desperately trying to get an incomes policy is totally irresponsible and without the slightest trace of justification. Already, the doctors have been offered more by the review body than they could reasonably expect, and have rejected this. They have, in fact, openly rejected an arbitration award in a manner that, had the culprits been a trade union of manual workers earning perhaps £15 a week instead of a professional group earning over £50, would have caused an unparalleled howl of execration from the right-wing press. The total irresponsibility, arrogance and selfishness of the demands being made can be seen by a comparison of the doctors' present remuneration with that of other professions.

Doctors' and Civil Servants' Pay

There are, in fact, comparatively few professions where average earnings exceed £2,500 a year. Even in the Administrative grade of the civil service, it is probably not much above this — certainly not much above the family doctor's £2,765. It may, of course, be argued that the doctor has had a long training, that he is a hard-worker, and that he has a life and death responsibility. Certainly his training may be longer than that of most civil servants, but we should not underestimate the demands that are often made on the higher ranking civil servants, nor the responsibilities that they have to bear. Moreover, the administrative grade of the civil service is recruited only from good second class or first class honours graduates. At the best, family doctors are a cross-section of the medical faculties, which is no higher in its standards of intake than other faculties. In other words, general practice offers a mediocre graduate an income of the same magnitude as the civil service offers a really first rate man. Admittedly, the civil servant can look

forward to an income of £3,500 or more, but this is because at the start of his career he has a long period of very low earnings. In general practice, the doctor can reach the average figure of £2,765 long before men in other professions can get anywhere near that. As for the long training, the normal duration is five years. (Nominally six, but most students have exemption from the first year.) Graduate teachers will normally spend four years in getting their degree and in subsequent professional training—in Scotland, the Honours graduate will take four years to get his degree and spend a further year in training. Yet graduate teachers can consider themselves lucky if they ever manage to reach a salary equal to the doctors' average. Graduates going into various forms of social work can probably look forward to a maximum of something like £1,500; £2,000 would be quite exceptional. And this again for a normal period of five years training, and for a job that may have many of the disadvantages of the doctor's life—irregular and long hours, heavy responsibility and all the rest.

Fewer Hours More Pay

It is no answer to say that the doctors are on call 24 hours a day. A good many other people work long and irregular hours without demanding almost double the pay of other workers with comparable qualifications. Many doctors could lighten the burden of night calls by forming group practices. If they choose to be lone wolves, they must accept the burdens this involves. But while a very heavy work load might conceivably justify some increase in present salaries, the doctors are in fact demanding their massive increase plus the introduction of a 5½ day week and either still further overtime pay or the ending of round-the-clock responsibility by the introduction of emergency call services. (No explanation has been given as to where the doctors are to come from to man this service. Nor has any explanation been given of how it is intended to ensure really satisfactory attention to patients by means of such a service. No doubt the doctor called in can cope reasonably well with a *fresh* emergency, but what about the sudden deterioration of a patient already under treatment. Can an

emergency service doctor cope when he has no idea of the treatment being given?)

Threat of Emigration

The question of emigration has frequently been raised in the course of the debate. It is, of course, true that doctors are emigrating, and that some countries do offer better prospects for the medical practitioner than Britain does. Elsewhere too there is a shortage of doctors — resulting in large measure from the failure adequately to expand medical schools — and under conditions approaching more closely to a free market, doctors overseas have been able to exploit their scarcity value to a much greater extent. The question is, therefore, whether we should be blackmailed by the threat of emigration into paying the doctors more than a fair remuneration — substantially more, that is, than is paid to men in other professions demanding equal qualification? Let us not forget that the British medical student has generally been educated at public expense, and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect him to make some return for that expenditure. Why not, therefore, present the young emigrant doctor with a bill for several thousand pounds, the cost of his training? (Not that this idea need be limited to doctors.)

There is clearly an urgent need for a more rational system of remuneration in general practice, to ensure that the doctor who provides the best service does not do so by sacrificing his own net income. On the other hand, there is no case for a massive increase in remuneration that is already generous in comparison with other professions. There is also a case for expanding group practices, perhaps developing the idea of health centres, and allowing emergency calls to be handled on a rota basis, rather than by the abdication of responsibility by the family doctor after office hours.

Has the Church reversed her teaching about usury? If the world agrees on contraception isn't this a strong argument for it? If democracy is the ideal form of Government why can't we have more of it in the Church? Catholics are not really allowed freely to discuss and debate, are they?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Is it true that the Church has completely reversed her teaching about usury?

IT is not true. The Church has always condemned usury, and she still condemns it. Usury is condemned also in the legislation of many countries where the State tries to protect the weak, the ignorant and the necessitous against exorbitant charges in loans and hire purchase agreements.

Usury is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as the "practice of lending money at exorbitant interest". The exorbitance consists in using the borrower's need as a lever to extract more from him in return than is needed to cover the lender's risk and his loss of income. If I am out in the country in my car, and I am stopped miles from a petrol supply by a motorist stranded because his tank is empty, and if I have a spare gallon that I can lend him, it would be usurious and unjust were I to demand, at the next pump, the return of my gallon plus half a gallon for the loan. Neighbours borrow milk and bread from one another. Good neighbours expect no more than the return of the exact equivalent of what was borrowed. To demand more as a condition of lending would be usury.

What the Church has done is not at all a reversal of her teaching on usury: she has declared that certain kinds of lending are not usurious but can reasonably be repaid with interest because what was lent is, or could be, used for the

production of additional wealth in which the lender may rightly claim a share.

To allege the Church's supposed abandonment of her condemnation of usury in support of a campaign to get her to abandon the condemnation of contraception is to misunderstand the Church's action.

The proverb says: *securus iudicat orbis terrarum* — when the whole world is unanimous in its judgment, it can't be wrong. Isn't that a strong argument for contraception?

THE world has never unanimously accepted any but the most general of propositions, as that man should be happy — and I have my doubts about even that one. No nation has achieved agreement on any serious question of human rights when it comes down to practical details. If "the whole world" is taken to mean merely "the majority", or even "the vast majority", the proverb should be denied: superiority of numbers does not confer infallibility.

It can be argued, more powerfully, that questions like that of contraception concern human nature, as the Church maintains. Human beings are all alike in nature, and presumably they know the sort of being they are. If we admit their ability to know themselves, we can take substantial agreement as giving us the facts about human nature. We argue that way, for example, from the almost universal practice of some sort of religion to the Godwardness of man. In the same way, may we not conclude that contraception is according to man's nature?

Beware of arguments which prove too much. On those lines you can prove the rightness of polygamy, abortion, divorce, and the possession of nuclear weapons.

It is simply not true that human nature can be known adequately by man's reason alone. To claim that power for it is to leave out of account the fall of man and salvation in Christ. Man has a supernatural destiny, and he should have supernatural standards of living, and supernatural life with which to understand and attain them. He needs a divine teaching authority to give him the truth about himself: and, faced with that authoritative teaching, he has to

learn from God the willingness to be enlightened. Knowledge of human nature is not the fruit of a mere natural intellectual exercise: it comes from thinking in and with the Church.

If democracy is the ideal form of government, as the social encyclicals suggest, why can't we have more of it in the Church?

Offhand I can't recall any passage in the social encyclicals which, in so many words, recommends democracy as the ideal form of government. I am not bothering to look through the documents in search of such a passage, because the Popes knew their subject and could not use the word "democracy" as a term with a precise meaning. Besides, you base your question not on a direct recommendation but on something much more vague—a suggestion.

"Democracy", government by the people, means systems as different as those of Switzerland, Spain, the U.S.A., and the "People's Republics" of Bulgaria, China, and Outer Mongolia. Democracy is suspect, as you can see from the titles of books by eminent theorists: *Democracy versus Liberty*, *The Heresy of Democracy*, and *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*.

Your question, I think, must be based on papal insistence that men ought to have as much control of their lives as they are capable of exercising. They must, according to their degree of maturity, be free to express effectively their wishes for the government of their country. Normally they would not be governed against their will. In politics one system of that kind is parliamentary democracy. Should we have a comparable system in the Church?

It would be impossible to introduce one. The Church's commission comes from Christ Himself and cannot be subject to "the will of the people". The teaching authority of the bishops, which is from Christ, is neither increased nor decreased by the people's acceptance or rejection of it. Government also has a divine origin in the Church. Democratic election could have its place in government, as it used to have: and there is already a beginning of self-government in lay organisations. But the Church's commission from God

to preach Christianity makes her essential authority independent of popular control.

How can anyone in his senses assert that Catholics are as free as anyone to discuss and debate? We *are* stifled.

WHAT is all this excitement about discussion and debate? Impassioned appeals for freedom in argument seem at times to be based on the judgment that debates, discussions, arguments and controversies are good in themselves. That judgment derives from the wide experience we have that we are in a permanent state of inadequate knowledge and extensive ignorance. To arrive at truth we have to adopt various means of pooling our knowledge, modifying our prejudices, and settling differences by compromise.

But what happens when the truth is generally known? Where truth is accepted controversy ends. We don't, in our senses, argue for the sake of argument but in order to arrive at truth: and once we have arrived we stop arguing.

An essential part of Catholic Christianity is acceptance of the Church's claim to the truth of that teaching on faith and morals which she imposes on consciences. It would be illogical for a Catholic to accept that teaching as true and at the same time to argue about whether it is true or false, as though what had been authoratively stated were still questionable.

Until now Catholics generally have been grateful for knowing, and have even descended into a passive complacency because they knew, neglecting their duty of trying to understand. Nowadays many Catholics seem ashamed of their knowledge, and they play it down so as to qualify for entry into the discussions held by those who don't know. They blush to admit that some matters debated outside the Church are beyond controversy inside the Church because the Church, by divine guidance, already knows.

Not wanting to be illogical by questioning an infallible teaching, yet being resolved to hang on to an opinion contrary to that teaching, they are compelled to deny the infallibility of the teaching. In some cases their denial is not so much a judgment that the teaching is not infallible as an

implication that the teaching is grossly erroneous and that the Church is fallible and untrustworthy.

How can it be right for the Church to impose absolute rules of morality? Morality *must* be free.

SO it must! Morality is individual. Moral goodness and badness are personal. It is only when acts genuinely belong to the person who does them that they are imputable for praise or blame. The person who acts should make up his own mind about the rightness or wrongness of what he proposes to do, and should decide for himself if he will act or not. In short, he must follow his conscience.

That means that coercion should be avoided, because it detracts from the freedom of acts. It is generally agreed that the State should not legislate for morality: the penalties imposed for breach of the law would introduce fear as a motive for good behaviour, and the operation of conscience would be hampered. External conformity might be obtained, but at the expense of personal responsibility. The level of morality would go down rather than up.

Why, then, should the Church legislate for christian morality? She even goes into detail, prescribing temperance with the requirement of fasting and abstinence on certain days. Conscience is put under pressure, and freedom is diminished.

In fact, the moral teaching of the Church is not legislation in the ordinary sense. It is, in the main, no more than a statement of what human nature is, and therefore of the limits within which human beings are free. Restrictions are already present in human nature itself, and are not imposed from outside by the Church. The requirements of participation in the Mass and of abstention from meat-eating specify the moral laws, already present in human nature, of temperance and of the worship of God. Moreover the only penalties in the Church's laws of behaviour are moral. No doubt they operate in some Catholics to the damage of freedom: but they are not for the sake of external conformity, and are designed to elicit free acts.

The prudery of the authorities on the Spanish coast is

shocking to e.g. English visitors. Can influence be brought to bear on them ?

On the English or the Spanish? Any Englishman who is shocked at Spanish "prudery" certainly needs to come under some good influence. His judgment — both moral and aesthetic — is unhealthy, and in addition he is forgetting what behaviour is seemly in a guest.

First of all, the Spanish coast belongs to the Spaniards. They very kindly let us use it, at a most reasonable cost: and it is for them to make the rules for its use. Visitors should have the humility of guests, and accept the customs of their hosts with sympathy, knowing that it is the right of hosts to establish the prevailing manner of living. There should be no adverse criticism just because the Spaniards like bathers to wear rather more than some English visitors would be disposed to wear.

But the complaint is that their regulations arise from prudery. It seems to me that what the Spaniards object to is studied nakedness: and I applaud their refusal to have that sort of offensiveness on their coast. A certain reticence is becoming in behaviour anywhere, and it has a special charm on beaches. Bathers should be private in their bathing-suits, not falling out of them *at* people. The Spanish requirement of modesty could well be met not just with external conformity but with a habit of mind.

Occasionally some ignorant visitor sets out to shock the Spaniards as though they were puritans with consciences falsely tender. The offence has even been committed in the name of liberty. That is doubly offensive; Spaniards have the dignity and good taste which go with a knowledge of life and a respect for human nature. There is nothing soft about them: and it is to be hoped that they will stay tough and preserve their beaches from crude vulgarity.

Does the fact that we are all equal in the sight of God prove that happenings like stigmata are not signs of divine favour ?

The argument would be that, as we are all equal, what God gives to one he gives to all, and that, as we have not

all received the stigmata, those who have them didn't get them from God.

What we need to begin with is a clarification of this word "equal". It is used in all kinds of contexts—religious, political, educational, economic—and it is a dangerous word, lending itself to grave error and misconception. Are all men equal? No. Are they born equal? No. Ought they to be equal? No. Can they be equal? No. Are they equal in the sight of God? No. You could just as well, just as truly, answer all the questions with Yes: so it is clear that the word has to be defined, and defined, what is more, in every context in which it is used.

It can't mean "exactly the same". The main fact about human beings is that they are persons, and each one is therefore unique. He or she is a particular version of the common human nature: and that particular version never appeared before and will never appear again. Each of us has a special point of view, character, temperament, range of qualities and history. God sees us as we are, different each from the others. If we are equal before God, it is not because of sameness. God does not give his help in equal measure to all. "The Spirit breathes where he will". We are equal before him because he loves us all and wills the salvation of all.

It is odd but true that the only way of arriving at the equality of sameness in human life is by depriving all but the lowest of the exercise of their freedom. Leave people their liberty and they make themselves different by the employment of their different talents. Equality in human life should be limited to equality before the law and equality of opportunity.

The Policeman on the Corner

"The combination of a repressive political order with a permissive moral order is not unheard of in human history." Philip Rieff.

Learning from the Communists *

4: VALUE OF TECHNIQUES

DOUGLAS HYDE

I want to talk to you now about the techniques of Communism, particularly with reference to the communist propaganda. You do not need me to tell you that the Communists are all too successful as propagandists. Again, that does not just happen. It is a result of attention to detail. It reflects the attitude of mind of a person who believes that he has what the world needs, he is going to pass it on. It seems to him to be reasonable so he wants to pass it on as effectively and as efficiently as he can.

One of the things which Communists have had to combat is the public reaction which comes to anyone who is going to make a noise, as it were, in modern society. That reaction is one whereby people say: "Well, of course, they talk all right, but do they do anything?" The Communists set out to demonstrate to people that they not only talk but they act.

Too often, I think, we give the impression that we talk, that we have all the right answers, but we do not follow them through into action. They in fact have all the wrong answers but they follow them through into action. So people are influenced by the fact that they are active, they are doing something, they are accomplishing something.

Communists Care about People

Communists are out to try to prove to people that they

*This series of eight self-contained articles, which we publish under the general title of *Learning from the Communists* contains, exactly as they were spoken, six conferences given by Douglas Hyde in the United States to a specially convened gathering of missionaries in September, 1962. They have been published recently by the Mission Secretariat in Washington

D.C. I am extremely grateful to the Executive Secretary, Father Frederick A. McGuire, C.M. and to Douglas Hyde for their kind permission to reproduce in *Christian Order*. It is hoped that a book based on these extremely important conferences will be published later on in Britain by Messrs. Sands. *Editor.*

care about them as people. Obviously, anti-communist propaganda has been directed to the idea that the Communists do not care—that Communists only care about power and things of that sort. Those of you who work in mission areas where the communists' ideas are already circulating will know that a consequence has been that the Communists have been able in many areas to establish the idea that *only* the Communists care. That is quite a considerable achievement.

It has not been simply on the basis of pouring out words. They have tried to think of various means of convincing the public that this is so. For example, in various parts of Asia recently, when Communist Party congresses have been called—the annual congresses at which all the topmost leaders and the local leaders meet—they have followed the technique of aiming to prove to the people that they care.

The congress is called, not at some big city which provides accommodations like this, but quite deliberately they call it to meet in some remote place. Those of you who work in mission areas or even those of you who know your history will know that roads break down isolation, link up communities with other communities and pave the way to development. The Romans knew this, and if any of you work in areas where there are no roads, you know how isolated you can be. And so some of the Asian Communist Parties have called their congresses to be held in some area which is quite cut off from all development because it has no road to link with the main highways. The Indonesian Communist Party did that. They called their congress (this is a powerful party with 2,000,000 members) to meet in a place where there was no road to link it up with civilisation. They called their delegates together a week before the congress was due to begin. Then they spent the week—top leaders and all the other leaders—working together to build a road from that village to the nearest highway. So the people would never forget that the Communists came there and opened up the way to development.

Now this is an indication of how serious they are to convey this idea that the Communists *care* — that the Communists do not just talk, they act. It works from their point of view. You cannot start condemning them for doing it. It shows imagination. I am not saying that we have to imitate this but we have to imitate their attitude, to imitate that sort of approach.

Profound Ideas in Simple Language

Why they use propaganda, they try to avail themselves of all the modern means of propaganda and use them as effectively as they can. I think that the man who is dedicated to a cause — and comes to it in all humility — is likely to make modern techniques work more effectively than the man who comes with a different approach. Let me tell you what I mean.

I was news editor of the *Daily Worker*, the London communist paper. When we had been both banned and bombed, at the beginning of the War, my staff was dispersed and suddenly I had to get together a new staff. I just had to get anyone I could as long as they were politically sound, that is, as long as they were good Communists — and intelligent enough to be trained and trained very quickly.

I got together a staff of furriers, engineers and housewives, anyone but journalists. I trained them as quickly as possible in journalism to bring out a paper which was going to be competitive with the best that the capitalist press could produce. When I was briefing them, trying to teach them their journalism, not only journalism but communist journalism, the point I made to them was the point which Lenin laid down for people who in my position were teaching it to others. Lenin said the whole art of communist journalism is to *get profound ideas across in simple language*. That need not be exclusive to Lenin and Communism. But the Communists prove that it works.

As I have said on many occasions already, what they are trying to sell is not naturally attractive; it is not naturally easy. If I were to give you a half hour lecture on dialectical materialism, you would know that this is so. They are trying to get profound ideas across. They have to learn to do it in simple language and they test themselves as journalists, or

publicists, whatever they may be, by asking themselves whether they are able to reduce their ideas to simple terms to themselves, as simple as possible, at any rate, and then get these across to others, choosing the short word rather than the long word, writing for ordinary people, being as lucid as they can.

This is an important thing. And again it works. They do get profound ideas across to ordinary people. They get ideas over in simple language. Often their ideas are not necessarily easily acceptable, yet they get their Communism across to their followers pretty successfully. They get dialectical and historical materialism over to housewives and unskilled labourers and that is quite a task in itself. All over the mission areas they have been able to get certain basic ideas over which have spread in such a way that very often it is impossible to trace them to the Communists, because they are not traceable *directly* to Communism. Communists have spread them to others who have spread them and spread them. They turn up, many moves removed from the party itself.

Two Propositions

For example, when I was touring Northern and Southern Rhodesia last year, speaking mainly to exclusively African audiences, audiences which consisted of groups of Africans in places of work, inside big copper mines and in African reserves I found something which people were not aware of before. It was proven absolutely, as I went around, that the Africans there had universally, and I use that word meaning it, *universally* accepted two simple propositions: that Russia is the big brother who helps poor struggling colonial peoples to achieve their freedom and secondly, when they have achieved their freedom, Russia and the other communist countries provide aid without strings. That was universally accepted in Central Africa, in our seminaries, everywhere.

The Communist Party did not even exist in Northern Rhodesia at that time. The first group had in fact come into existence in early 1962. It is still only at the study circle level, which is how the Communist Party will normally

begin in a mission area of that type. It is not yet a formal, organised Communist Party at all. Yet already those ideas had been accepted in Northern Rhodesia. They had come through all sorts of people, all sorts of different channels. People who were not themselves Communists got these ideas from others who were started by the Communists.

Our Ideas in the Simplest Language

If we are going to combat Communism. If we are going to try to get our own ideas over, we will be wise if we reduce them to the simplest terms, particularly if we are trying to deal with simple people. It is not easy but it is worth making the attempt, and generally if the attempt is made with sufficient seriousness, it can be done. The Communists, of course, have demonstrated that you have to adapt what you are trying to teach people to the type of people you are trying to teach — pretty obvious, of course. But what may seem something very elementary to you may seem something tremendous to somebody else with less education.

I remember a story told by the American journalist, John Reed, a liberal, who was in Russia at the time of the Bolshevik revolution. It was at the time when the counter-revolution was just beginning and there was absolute chaos everywhere. No one knew where the front was, it might be here today and somewhere else tomorrow. He was trying to find the front in order to report on it for his newspaper here in the States. He saw a truck full of peasants, heading off and he said to them, "Where are you going?" They said, "To the front". He said, "May I come too?" and they said "Yes". He said, "Do you know where the front is?" They said, "No, we are trying to find it, we are following the noises of the guns".

Ready to Die

They set off across the frozen, ploughed field — it was in mid-winter, November, 1917. They were bumping along over the frozen field, and meantime, he found the truck was carrying a load of hand grenades. They were sitting on top of the hand grenades, bumping along over the icy ploughed

fields, trying to find the front. He said to them, "Do you realise that most of you will not come back from the journey?" They said, "Yes". He said, "That means that you are going out to die?" They said, "Yes". He asked, "What are you going to die for?" — these were illiterate peasants. He saw all of them groping in their minds, trying to find the words. They had the idea but they could not find the words. Then one man rather haltingly said: "Well, you see, Comrade, it is like this. Throughout history there have always been two classes, the rich and the poor, the oppressors and the oppressed, and in the past the poor have always been trodden down and it is the rich who have trodden them down. Now the poor are coming into their own and we are going to be the ones who will rule the world in the future".

That was a simple proposition, but here was a truck load of men ready to die for it. You may say, "Well, I would not die for it". But they were prepared to die for it which is what matters. A great many of the people who made the revolution may not have understood very much dialectical materialism, although this was the very nub of what this revolution was all about, really. Here was the Marxist interpretation of history, put into very simple language. The Bolsheviks had got that idea across in the short period in which they had been a legal party. They had got this simple proposition over. Here were profound ideas, conveyed in simple language, and men were prepared to go and die for them, and did die for this cause in scores and hundreds of thousands.

Stalin's Parable

The Communists would say that if propaganda is to be successful you have got to be close to the people. You have got to understand the people's language, the people's needs — not live in your own little sealed-off world.

The burden is on you. You have to find a way to get your ideas to them. If they are not receptive, it is because you have not found a way to make them receptive. You will only make them receptive if you understand how their minds work, if you understand things which are meaningful to

them, make them meaningful to you and identify yourself with them.

So the Communists are expected to keep as close to people as they can, knowing what are their deepest wishes, what is nearest to their hearts and to their minds. Stalin edited a dry as dust book, *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, (it could not be drier, although it has been a dynamic book which Communists all over the world have studied). Stalin ends this book with a parable, as it were, about keeping close to the people. If you do not keep close to the people, he says, your roots are cut off from the soil and then you must wither and die.

I think he had something there. Your Communists will say that if you are going to get close to the people, you have to talk the language of the people. I know that Western journalists very often think they are talking the language of the people when they invent a degraded form of English, which can only be described as journalese. That is not the language of the people. That is not getting close to the people. It shows contempt of the people, in fact, moulding their minds in the wrong way. But the Communists would feel that it is worth going to a lot of trouble to try and perfect themselves in the task of getting profound ideas over in simple language.

Catholic Editor Unreadable

On one occasion I was discussing with a Catholic editor how to make his paper more successful. I said "Well, I would like to suggest that you might make your own editorial leads a little more readable. For example, the first sentence in this week's editorial leader has five semi-colons, one-hundred and four words. You have to read it four or five times to know what it is about". I said: "I agree with the communist journalists who believe that you have got to get profound ideas over in simple language". He replied: "I could not disagree more. I deliberately write like that. It is good that they have to read it four or five times to understand it, they then know what it is all about and remember it".

I feel that was an alibi. Certainly, I would say that is not the way to get your ideas over. Of course, it is difficult to get some ideas across in simple language. Every specialised

branch of human knowledge has its own jargon. We have ours, the Communists have theirs. That is within the family.

When you are trying to reach out to others, then, you have got to break out of that jargon and use simple language if you can. If you are not able to reduce it to simple ideas in your own mind, this may be and it quite possibly is, that you do not really understand it yourself and you are shielding behind the big words and behind the jargon. Which means that you might as well start on yourself. I remember when I was in Korea at the end of the Korean war, I was staying with the Columban Fathers there, getting material for my book *One Front Across the World*. I was discussing this with the priest who was the Superior there at that time. He was telling me they had a great problem. It is one that I believe is still substantially the same. It is this: Although in the past the Church was a church of the poor and illiterate, there are the beginnings of an interest in the church, in the faith, on the part of the educated.

Big Face

But there was no literature for them. No literature in their own language. There were, I think, about twenty-two books and pamphlets at that time, mainly rather sugary pamphlets, about sugary little saints or saints which were made to appear sugary, although they probably were not. But nothing to appeal to the intellectual. Even the Scriptures were not translated; there was nothing to offer the intellectual who was groping around, looking for the Faith.

I said, "Well you have got people, after all is said and done, who can do it. Have you no Korean who could do this?" He told me the problem which would be known to any of you who have worked or work in Korea. He said, "If you are a Korean writer, it is big face to sprinkle what you write with a lot of quotations from the classical Chinese. It is approximately like putting in a lot of quotations from Latin and Greek if you are writing in English. This is big face. It proves your erudition. We can have an enormous problem but this is what our Korean writers all insist upon doing."

"We just cannot get them to write in the simple language of the people". I said, "Would you say that this is characteristic of all Koreans?" He said, "I would have said so until the Communists came in from North Korea. They flooded the country with pamphlets and leaflets which were written in the language of the people. There were no quotations from classical Chinese in *them*. They found a means of getting their ideas across in simple language but our own people were still pre-occupied with what was big face. The Communists were not concerned about big face. They were concerned about Communism, getting it across.

Prizes for the Daily Worker

The Communists would say if you are operating in the field of journalism, if you are trying to get ideas over through the written word, then just as it is important that you should be the best man at your job, you should make the best job possible of that. Of course, this is immensely true. In their publications intended for the non-communist public, they try to achieve the highest possible level of journalism. The *Daily Worker* in London is, of course, openly a communist paper. It also sees itself in competition with the ordinary, national press, owned by millionaires, with all the resources they have at their command. The British newspaper industry collectively offers a prize each year to some paper which is the best in some particular field. One year it will be the best edited paper, next year the best news edited, next year the one with the best typography, next year, the one with the best design, etc. Over and over again, the prize goes to the *Daily Worker*.

On one occasion, the editors of the *Times* and *Daily Worker* tied and they marched together to receive their diplomas, shoulder to shoulder. This is not a coincidence, of course. It is not that they had people on their staff who were already most skilled in journalism when they came to the paper. It is that they have got this idea over to them that they can be the most successful if they are good at their work.

Technique Vital

Technique counts for a tremendous amount, in this whole field of propaganda. You can see it so often.

If there is anyone here who is interested in colour printing he will know, that some of the best colour printing in the world today comes from communist East Germany.

We are always hearing that East Germany is a total 100 per cent failure. This is not true in every respect. On the cultural level, East Germany is ahead of most European countries at this moment. In colour printing, it leads absolutely. The same holds for China. Some of the publications coming from China today are amongst the best in modern colour printing.

Here the same principle is being applied. If you are going into propaganda, you use every technical means at your disposal, use every modern means — the latest colour printing, whatever it may be — but you also *master* the *whole* technique. You recognise that this is the way to be more effective. It is not only true of publications — it is true of their pamphlets and books and papers, it is true of poster designs, too. This is tremendously important.

Those of you who were familiar with Italy in 1948 at the time of those elections which practically decided the fate of Italy — Italy might have gone Communist — you know how the Communists plastered the walls of Rome and every Italian city with their posters — wonderful ingenious posters. I have a big collection of them at home, some of the best posters that were ever produced.

Battle of the Posters

But fortunately Catholics saw this as a challenge. An organisation which was an off-shoot of Catholic Action, the Civic Committees, produced posters too. They used the same technique — they found the very best Catholics in that field of poster design, typography, etc. to design the posters. The Communists would go to a city and plaster every wall in that city during the elections with wonderful posters. Within a few hours the Civic Committee members (Catholics) would be going around putting up other posters which were the reply, directly related to the posters which had been put up

only a few hours before, as good in design, as imaginative, as amusing, as devastating.

That was described, as you know, in the world's press as the Battle of the Posters. It played a very profound part in winning that election and keeping Communism at bay. Too often a reply like that does not come from us. Too often the Communists do the first part of the operation, but the Catholics do not respond with the second part.

Terrific Photography

The same goes for the making of films. Too many of us—and this is particularly true, if I may say so of mission congregations—feel it is a tremendous achievement to produce a film. You have to have a film of the congregation because another congregation has a film of theirs. So a film has to be made. It is an achievement to make the film. Not always is it true to say that the quality is very high. More often than not the thing is on the level of the 16 mm films of thirty years ago. Obviously if you are restricted financially and every other way it may be the best you can do. I have known a communist film, which was a pretty poor type, a 16 mm film, achieve quite a lot. But wherever possible they try to do something better than that.

At any rate, they will make sure that someone has really been trained to produce the very best possible film. Again you can see the technique operating.

The best example I can give you is a film I saw a few years ago. One of our cinemas was persuaded in Britain to show the *Diary Of a Country Priest*. The management, to balance things up so that no one would think it was suddenly going Catholic, had a supporting film in colour, which had originated in Hungary and been given a Stalin prize—a typically English compromise.

I went to the premiere. I was interested to see what this Stalin film was like. It was a nature film—you could not have anything more innocent—anything more non-political than a nature film. Those who made it resisted the temptation to put any politics into it at all. Quite simply it was probably the best nature film that has ever been made. The camera work was absolutely tremendous. First, you went

hunting with a polecat. The scene was the swamps, not far from Budapest, which are known for their animals and birds and fish.

You went hunting with a polecat and, truly you went down into rabbit holes with the polecat. You saw the polecat kill baby rabbits, its mother trying to defend them, you saw a wonderful fight underground, terrific photography. Do not ask me how it was done. It was genuine. You saw the polecat sucking bird's eggs. You saw it killing one creature after another in the course of its day.

You went hunting with an eagle in the sky. Again more superb photography. Pictorially, in every way it was good. You saw the eagle hover over some other bird, drop on it and kill it; and then you went under water in the big lakes which exist in that area, hunting with the fishes. You went hunting with big fish, saw them swallow small fish, you saw others swallowing smaller ones. There was nothing else, that was it.

Moral Unmistakably Drawn

This film got the Stalin prize. It was about the best communist propaganda film I have ever seen. It was produced in Hungary and it was taken around every village hall in Hungary. Everyone would go to see it. Here was something which was in touch with their life; the life of the people who work on the soil, who know the birds, who know the fish, who know the animals. This was their language, their world. They would go to see it and they would marvel at what they were shown. The next day when they were working on the collective farm, or on the co-operative, the Communist amongst them would say, "Did you go to the village hall last night to see the film?" "Yes". "What did you think of it?" "I thought it was perfectly wonderful". "So did I". I will tell you what worried me afterwards. Did you notice that the polecat lived by killing and the eagle lived by killing and the fish lived by killing, and in fact, this ran through the whole thing. Of course, that is what the world is like, is it not? Now you are a Catholic. Tell me how you can explain a God of love in a world like that? Tell me how you can prove God from nature.

Maybe you can find the answers but the Hungarian Catholic peasant may have great difficulty in finding the answers. So would a great many other people besides them. It was all that was needed—it was superbly done—a good technical job, close to the lives of the people and a follow through coming *afterwards* from someone else. That is good propaganda.

It does not have to be used for evil things but this one succeeded because the people concerned had mastered the techniques involved.

I am always travelling about the world and my family is left at home and they get the rough end of the stick. But by way of compensation and also for my own rather nostalgic reasons, I try to bring back what you call phonograph discs—we call them gramophone records. I try to bring back authentic folk music of the country—the real music. Then when I think of those countries, I can play them on my gramophone.

The Only Authentic Record

I was in Saigon on one occasion and I had to leave in a hurry. I was occupied to the last moment. I wanted to get a record and I had been unable to get it. Shortly afterwards I was in Paris and instead of staying at a hotel, I stayed with a Vietnamese family. I mentioned to them that I regretted that I had not been able to bring anything back from Saigon. They said, "You can get plenty of Vietnamese records in Paris. A great many French soldiers fought in Indo-China and brought back records and there is a demand in Paris for them". There are not less than 5,000 Vietnamese students in Paris at any moment. They said they would take me to a music shop and tell me what to get.

We went and the assistant produced a pile of records. My host said, "Not that one, not that one, not that one." "You do want the authentic thing, don't you?" "Yes," "Well, not that one." There was just one out of a dozen that was authentic. The instruments were right; the music was right; the voices were right; this was the real thing. All the others had been degraded by being jazzed up, set

to American tempo, etc. This was the one authentic record, the only thing that any Vietnamese student would want to listen to.

I bought it and when I got outside they said to me: "We will tell you now, there is only one thing wrong with the record; the words are not authentic. They are communist revolutionary words." That record comes from North Vietnam. In other words, in the South, they have been turning out the degraded stuff, jazzed up and Westernized. In the North they knew that that was not acceptable to the Vietnamese people and so they produced the authentic thing. And they saw that it got to Paris. So, when Vietnamese students in Paris sit around on Saturday night, after a hard week of study, to relax, and play their discs and dream of home, in a nostalgic receptive mood, they listen to this record because this is the only authentic one, and the rest of the week they go round singing the revolutionary words to themselves. That is good propaganda, superb propaganda.

Nothing too Good for the Party

Again this is an approach; it is an attitude. Oh yes, many of these things you may not be able to copy exactly but you see the idea, you see the approach, the attention which is given to it. I believe it is this sort of approach that we have to have for our propaganda, if we are going to make it succeed.

The Communists operating in this field and in every field have one of many slogans which are meaningful to them and which I think should give us cause to think. I have said this hundreds of thousands of times in my life as a Communist; I have heard it in every country of the world. "*Nothing is too good for the party*". Imagine the tragedy of this!

Nothing is too good for Our Lord. How often do we apply that to the ordinary details of our work? But that is the approach of the Communists. Nothing is too good for the Party. So they give everything they have got to it, particularly in attention to detail.

Oh yes, the Communists use subterfuge; they use every

sort of deceit and a lot of our Western cold war propaganda is based on that. But do not lose sight of the fact that they get far more success from their *mastery of technique* than they get from all their subterfuge, from all their deceit. Sooner or later, their subterfuges come back on them. Their deceptions boomerang on them, but their good techniques do not.

Find the Point of Contact

The same goes for public speaking. When the Communist is trained in public speaking, he is told to always try and keep close to the people. Every example he uses should be drawn from life; every time he is trying to make a theoretical point, he should illustrate it with a story from life; again, Mao Tse-tung explains this in all of the communist parties the world over.

Then they spread their ideas, the communist propaganda is to try and find a point of contact in the mind of the other man: not where do we disagree? But where do we agree? And then try to extend that area of sympathetic interest wider and wider.

This is a good technique, there is nothing immoral in it, nothing that we cannot copy in it. The Communists find it works.

You know as well as I do that it is the element of truth which makes communist propaganda get across. It is because they will find something which is true in it even though there is a lot of falsehood. Now think of the implication: It is the element of truth which makes propaganda acceptable, we have *THE Truth*, it ought to be *more* acceptable.

We sneer at the Communists because they have to use a little bit of truth while we have the whole of it. I believe it is up to us to find ways and means of getting the truth over. They are trying to sell false goods and having to use the truth which belongs to us in order to sell them. It is we who ought to be able to sell all truth, really.

The Communist believes, too, that in addition to good propaganda he has to back it up with good organization.

I will deal with this briefly because time is short but organization is tremendously important, when we consider the effect of communist activity.

The Cell

You will know that the communist organization is based upon cells. The cell is the basic unit of the Communist Party. All sorts of anti-communist propagandists write about communist cells and I often feel that they do not really know what it is all about—just how it works.

I would like to describe it to you because it explains a lot. You may say to me, "Does every Communist belong to a cell?" The answer is that most Communists belong to a **lot** of cells, which is often overlooked. You see a Communist is a Communist the whole of the time.

We will take an individual Communist; he, shall we say, works in a factory; he is a member of a labour union; he is interested in gardening and he is interested in music. All right.

He works in a factory, so if there are two or three more Communists in that factory, two others besides himself, they will constitute a cell. Wherever three or more Communists are gathered together, there you have a communist cell. That is the rule of the Party.

And so if he goes to a factory with only two, he will have a real driving urge to make a third one so they can start organized activity. If there are three in his own department in that factory, there will be a departmental cell. If there are three in his particular workshop, there will be a workshop cell. He will always act as an organized Communist. At the end of every day that cell will quickly meet to discuss the successes and failures of the day—always working as an organized group.

He belongs to a labour union, so he goes to his local, and there, if there are three or more Communists, two more besides himself, he will be a member of the cell inside that local. They will plan their work in that labour union branch. If he is elected to a higher level, to an area committee and there are three Communists there, he will be a member of the area cell; to a higher level, to

a district or to a national level, still he will be a member of the cell.

He is organized at every level of his activity. Always he is working in an organized way, pooling his ideas, sharing his experience with others.

He is interested in gardening, so he joins a gardening society or association. If there are three or more Communists there, he will still be a member of an organized cell; they will probably have that Hungarian nature film shown officially by the society.

If he is interested in music and belongs to a music society, he will do the same. He will not insist only on Soviet music being played, but he will see that it is played sometimes and he may try to get a discussion about Soviet composers, e.g., the role of music in the Soviet Union.

This is a form of organization, but it also helps to keep a sense of purpose the whole of the time very clear in the mind of the individual Communist. Once more I want to underline the fact that it is the *attitude of mind which they set out to create, which they do create, which we are trying to create here.*

General Booth, who founded the Salvation Army years ago, on one occasion was asked: "Why is it that you always set your hymns to the most popular current tunes?" He said, "I see no reason why the devil should have all the best tunes." I do not see any reason why the devil should have all the best techniques either.

Out of Date?

"... There is no place of perdition better made, better ordered, and better provided with tools, so to speak; that there is no more fitting tool of perdition than the modern workroom." Charles Péguy.

Book Review

LAITY AND COUNCIL

The Second Session, by Xavier Rynne; Faber & Faber, pp. 390, 30s. **The Open Church**, by Michael Novak; Darton, Longman & Todd, pp. 368, 18s. (paper).

BOTH these books are concerned with the second session of Vatican II, yet we are now only a few months away from the day when the Fathers assemble in St. Peter's for the fourth and final time. Readers should not be disturbed by this fact. There is a very true sense in which the closure of Vatican II will mark not the end, but the beginning of the work that has to be done in the Church. The task will be that of permeating the members of Christ's Body and, through them, the world round about with the pastoral inspiration conceived in such labour, during months of discussion and work, by the assembled bishops of the Church. The good seed sown during weary hours of toil can sprout only with the co-operation of priests and faithful. It will be their turn soon; it is, in fact, their turn now. As a preliminary, their thoughtful contemplation of the main points at issue is a real necessity. In this, they will be much helped by the books under review.

Of the two, that by Michael Novak is far and away the best. The elusive Xavier Rynne appears to have lost his touch somewhat in this book of his on the second session. In my view, it cannot compare with the brilliant job done by its predecessor. That book was an eye-opener, written with brilliant insight and great charity. The present volume takes on the form of a rather monotonous chronicle. The penetration that marked its twin is lacking. So, too, is the wit. Somehow, rather surprisingly, the author never seems to get inside his subject. The issues are not laid bare in the manner one would expect. The book, nevertheless, is worth reading. Chronicles have their place. It succeeds as a record where it fails as a critique.

Michael Novak comes to redress this imbalance with a superb piece of work. Here we have not only a true picture of the proceedings, but an appraisal of the issues at stake, which could not, I think, be bettered. The book is a critique rather than a chronicle; at the same time, the author manages to insert into its pages, without overloading or in any way blurring his own estimate of the proceedings, an account of episcopal opinion which lets one see very clearly the varied mind of the Council Fathers concerning the points raised for debate. This is a remarkably deft performance. It is enriched by the modesty with which the author presents his case, the charity and disarming frankness which run through his writing. There is not a sneer in his book, not an unkind cut anywhere, no attempt to score at anyone's expense, not a touch of arrogance in any of its pages. The conviction it brings is, in consequence, as clear as the light it sheds. I feel a good many people will read and brood over its passages of importance again and again.

At the same time, one wonders a little sadly how many will read it at all. Relatively speaking, very few. How many Catholics, in fact, know what is going on at the Council? The same answer, I think, applies. Here you have the strength and the weakness of Novak's position. He is one of the few who understands. Like all good men in the same position, he stresses the need for a reappraisal of episcopal attitude with regard to the laity as a prelude to their full and effective participation in the work of the *aggiornamento*. This is greatly to be desired. It can be effective, however, only on the assumption that laymen within the Church have an approach to their Faith as balanced and perceptive as that of Novak himself. Unfortunately, this is not the case. I doubt whether it ever can or will be to any significant degree. It could well be that realisation of this deficiency on the part of the laity is what motivates more than anything else the proponents of what Novak calls non-historical orthodoxy. Their unwillingness to loosen the bonds of authority in favour of the claims of a more enlivened lay consciousness may be due

to an opinion on their part that the desired degree of enlivenment neither exists at present nor is possible in the future. At present, the vast mass of the Catholic faithful need authoritative guidance, live by it and are glad to have it. This situation may be unfortunate and, indeed, deplorable. The question is not here. It is, rather, whether such a situation exists in fact and, if so, whether it can be reversed. I think it does exist. A major effort to reverse it through the introduction of new teaching methods should undoubtedly be made. It will, I am convinced, score only partial success. I write this, not in a spirit of depression, but because I believe sheer numbers and the burdensome complexities of modern life are against the formation, on any large scale, of laymen of Novak's stamp. It is natural that, in his modesty, he should imply in his writing that this is not so. I fear he is wrong. Like all good men, he does not know how much he owes to his own selfless generosity. His tendency, in consequence, is to claim for others that of which they are incapable. He is heaven. The rest of us are largely lump.

It is for this reason that I sympathise with the fears of those who reacted so strongly against the proposed decree on religious liberty. The doctrine is magnificent and I wholeheartedly support it. Moreover, it would be wrong, I think, to oppose the doctrine because its promulgation would have undesirable effects in some parts of the world; in Italy, for instance, in Spain or South America. One can and should sympathise, however, with Bishops who see that its popularisation might make their people fall victims to the activities of Protestant sects preying unscrupulously on the simplicity of their Faith. But their Faith should not be simple, a highly intelligent and able young scholar like Michael Novak might reply. Here I would disagree, whilst very ready, at the same time, to admit to bad methods of instructing the faithful in the past. In this matter, there is, indeed, enormous and pressing need for improvement. Assuming, even, that this need is effectively met—a thing I am inclined to doubt—I feel quite sure that the problem will remain. Sheer numbers,

the complexities of modern life and the limited understanding of many of the faithful (this is said in no spirit of disparagement) must mean that the number of laymen like Novak in the ranks of the Church will be relatively few. Hence, the need for authoritative guidance will remain. Meanwhile, it is for the clergy, whilst not abusing their authority (a thing far too many of us are inclined to do) to concentrate on the gradual transformation of their people into a true Christian community. The main instrument here is charity which will knit them together in Christ and take them out to others to make Christ incarnate in the world that lies about them. This is their way to the *aggiornamento*. It is a matter, really, of the heart rather than the head, of love rather than understanding, of the *lumen fidei* rather than intellectual accomplishment. There is, perhaps, a tendency in Novak's fine pages to leave too little place, in his scheme of things, to what one might describe as the intuition of the faithful, their feel for the Faith, which is built on homely customs and simple things that some modern liturgists are much too inclined to scorn. The assent of most men to the Faith, though made with the intellect is not intellectual in the approved sense of that term. In the vast number of cases it is none the less real for all that, much more so, as a rule, than in the case of many intellectuals properly so called. These tend to attribute to emotion that which is effected through the virtue of faith. They would do well to acquaint themselves with the distinction.

If this analysis is correct, plenty of room is still left for strategic attention to the relatively few laymen in the Church who can share with bishops and priest the great work of opening the Church out in thoughtful and positive fashion to a world that needs it so much. These are the men, indeed, whom historical orthodoxy should claim for its own, on whose shoulders authority should sit lightly because their understanding is clear and their assent given willingly to its claims. Cooperation between them and the clergy should be close, informal and on a basis of mutual and friendly understanding. As I see it, the task of these laymen

should be that of influencing those around them in favour of a way of life staked out by the claims of human dignity. These men are not meant to be used as mere instruments by the clergy, to undertake *pia opera* at their command, to be thrust into a maze of parish activities. Their task is essentially to permeate their environment. This means more than good example. It means a concerted effort strategically applied to shift to-day's world away from its present trend towards degradation. The claims of human dignity have once more to be established in the hearts of men. This, as I see it, is the present and pressing task before to-day's elite of Catholic laymen. It is by no means beyond their powers. We have heard little of it so far in the Council. Let us hope that we shall see it covered in the fourth and final session during the discussion due to be renewed on the Church and the modern world. So far, in the Council's discussions on oecumenism, one has been left with the impression that our separated brethren in the West are Christians in a basically Christian world. This is not the case. The large majority of western non-Catholics to-day are post-Christians practising a pagan code in a technically pagan environment. This is the reality of to-day. It is on this that the Catholic lay elite must work with a view to swinging it first in favour of human dignity and then of Christianity itself. The whole operation is complex. Competent clergy and layfolk should meet with a view to discussing the best way of carrying it out.

In what must be a final point, I would note that the composition of the elite, as described above, is not confined to members of one group or social class. Clarity of understanding can combine with dedication to turn laymen of every type into the nucleus of the desired elite. The mass of Catholics who are in need of authoritative guidance and glad to have it are not by any means confined to the poor and the simple. There are well-to-do members of the Church in Britain and the United States who need it far more than Italian or Irish labourers.

Paul Crane, S.J.

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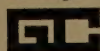
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